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ABSTRACT

This digest examines the developmental consequences for children who are the victims of or witnesses to family and community violence. A baby's ability to trust depends upon the family's ability to provide consistent caregiving, which is compromised when the infant's family lives in a community racked by violence. When they reach toddlerhood, children need to practice skills such as jumping and climbing. However, children who live in violence-ridden communities are often confined to indoor quarters that hamper their activities. When they reach the preschool years, young children may not be able to venture outside the family home because they are prevented from going out to play. During the school years, community and family violence takes a high toll on children's development. Children whose energies are drained through worry about violence have difficulty learning in school, and the cognitive functioning of children traumatized by violence can be compromised. Children who have been mistreated may have trouble getting along with others, and children whose only role models use physical force to solve problems may be unable to learn nonaggressive ways of social interaction. Children who live with violence may repress feelings, have difficulty seeing themselves in meaningful roles, feel helpless, and regress to an earlier stage of development. Children's ability to cope with violence is influenced by their temperament and by their parents' abilities to withstand the stresses of poverty and violence. School and day care staff can help children deal with the consequences of violence by offering them alternative perceptions of themselves and teaching them skills for getting along in the world. (BC)

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暴力與兒童的發展

(Violence and Young Children's Development)

羅瑞·沃那奇(Lorraine B. Wallach)

美國每年的暴力事件要带來上千人的死亡和上百萬的醫療、工資損失。本文所涉及的暴力主要指虐待兒童及其它家庭矛盾、幫派械斗和社區罪犯。暴力最大的危害是對兒童發展的消極影響。本文探討了家庭和社區暴力的受害兒童及目擊兒童的發展後果。

學前階段的暴力

在暴力中成長的兒童面臨著病態發展的危險。依據愛里克森(Erikson)的經典理論，學習信任他人是嬰兒第一年中首要的發展任務。信任爲將來的發展、形成自尊、自信提供了重要的基礎。嬰兒形成對他人的信任有賴于家庭提供一致的照顧和對嬰兒的愛和刺激的需要及時做出反應。當家庭陷于暴力威脅的社區，他們首先擔心的是安全，那么對孩子的照顧自然會打折扣。父母的精力被用來保護安全，他們就不可能給予孩子充分的照顧(Halpern, 1990)。日常生活，如上班、購物、約看醫生都需要謹小愼微的計劃和安排。

當嬰兒成長爲學步兒童時，內在的動力驅使他們嘗試新的技

能，比如：走路、攀爬和爬行。這些技能最好是在公園、游戲場地而不是在擁擠的公寓里練習。但住在危險社區的孩子往往不讓出門去玩。他們常常被限制在一個小小的角落，被父母、長輩給予多種的規定(Scheinfeld, 1983)。這些規定對學步兒童是難于理解和服從的，這反過來會影響他與其他家庭成員的關係。

學前階段的兒童需要探索家庭以外的世界，發展新的關係和學習了解他人(Spock, 1988)。然而他們居住的社區充滿了危險，孩子不被允許到外面去玩，甚至于不讓和大孩子一起執行成人交與的任務。而且，他們進入的日托中心等機構也處於危險的街區。這對兒童的發展都是非常有害的。

學齡階段的暴力

儘管早期的發展對今後成長所奠定的基礎至關重要，學齡階段的經歷對兒童的健康成長也同樣重要。上學期間兒童學習成爲公民、成人所必需的社會和學術技能。但家庭、社區的暴力卻對他們的發展敲了警鐘。

·當兒童的精力主要被用來保衛自己，抵禦外界的危險和排除恐懼，他們的學習自然會有困難(Craig, 1992)。暴力受害兒童常常會出現記憶扭曲的問題，這會影響他們的認知能力(Terr, 1983)。

·暴力受害或目擊兒童在學習與他人相處時會有困難。潛伏在兒童內心的憤怒會潛移默化地影響兒童的人格結構。懷著這樣的憤怒會使兒童較難控制他們的行爲，提高了暴力行爲的可能性。

·兒童學習社會技能是通過在生活中模仿、學習成人。如果他們的榜樣，包括傳播媒體中的人物都利用暴力來解決問題，兒童不可能學到非暴力的與他人相處的方式(Garbarino et al., 1992)。

・生活在暴力中的兒童，爲控制他們的恐懼，自然要壓抑自己的感情。這種預防性的方式爲他將來的生活和病態發展敲了警鐘。這種情形會妨礙他們同情他人、與他人的相處。不會同情他人的人較難控制他們的攻擊性，也更傾向于對殘暴行爲的不在乎和無動于衷。了解兒童爲什么變得感情麻木的過程，可以幫助我們理解爲什么他們對自己和他人的生命都無所謂(Gilligan, 1991)。

・暴力受害的兒童對于將來的看法很悲觀。研究發現加里福尼亞學校曾被綁架在校車上作人質的學生，對于將來的期望很有限，甚至常預見災難(Terr, 1983)。無法看到光明前途的孩子很難專注于當前的任務，例如：在校學習和社會化的任務。

・兒童需要對他們生活的某些方面有主導權利。但生活在暴力中的孩子對發生在他們身上的事没有多少發言權。從學步階段起，他們就被限制了自主權利，這種無助的感覺持續到學齡階段。他們不僅要面臨所有孩子所面臨的限制，而且他們要面對被幫派和販毒者控制的危險街區。

・當孩子經歷傷害時，一種普遍的反應是倒退到發展的前一階段。允許孩子推遲面對傷害事件引起的感情就可以逐漸醫治這種倒退，這同時也是獲得了心理能力的一種方式。然而兒童持續地面對緊張和危險會使他們的心理發展固著于早期的發展階段。

個體的差別和復原能力

當然不是所有的孩子對困難情景的反應都一樣。許多因素會影響兒童的應付能力，包括年齡、氣質和家庭的反應等。年幼的兒童比學齡兒童和青少年對緊張的反應更强烈。但如果照顧者心理上很强，而且嬰兒隨時可以依賴他們也能避免消極影響。

生活在穩定、支持的家庭中的孩子更有能力應付這些困難，因爲他們的父母是關心體貼的。如果長輩樂于傾聽兒童的恐懼並

提供適當的釋放途徑，兒童也能更好地對付生活中的困難。同樣如果兒童天生有較好的脾氣和心理健康狀態，他們更有可能很快恢復。如果兒童很幸運有堅强的家長後盾來抵禦貧困和社區暴力，他們也更可能成爲快樂、有成就的成人(Garmezy & Rutter, 1983)。

兒童的適應性

儘管早期的事件對兒童發展很重要，但許多兒童可以克服早期的傷害和恐懼。對于生活在緊張氣氛中的孩子，具有與他人發展關係、從他人那里獲得在家庭和社區中所得不到的幫助的能力對他們的健康發展至關重要。

學校、日托中心和校外活動的教工都是兒童獲得幫助的重要來源。他們能幫助孩子改變自我感覺，而且可以教他們技巧如何應付週圍世界。通過長時間的、有技巧的努力，照顧者可以幫助孩子迎接惡劣環境的挑戰、走上積極的發展軌道。

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